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CHAPTER 5

Integrity and Quality in Different Governance Phases

Leo Huberts

5.1 Governance

The concept of 'governance' has become very popular in many disciplines that study power, authority, politics, policy, administration, government, management, and organization. In addition to those in politics and public administration, many other actors and organizations have become involved in addressing public problems and challenges.

In this book—and in this chapter—governance is seen as 'authoritative policy making on collective problems and interests, and implementation of these policies' (Huberts, 2014, p. 68). Governance is about collective problems and interests being addressed, possibly by one actor but also by a network of public and private actors. The term 'authoritative,' refers to the support offered and legitimization by the organization or community whose problems and interests are addressed (in line with Easton's (1953) famous definition of politics as the 'authoritative allocation of values').

Policy making and policy implementation processes are characterized by different aspects and phases. Classic system models of politics (Easton, 1979)

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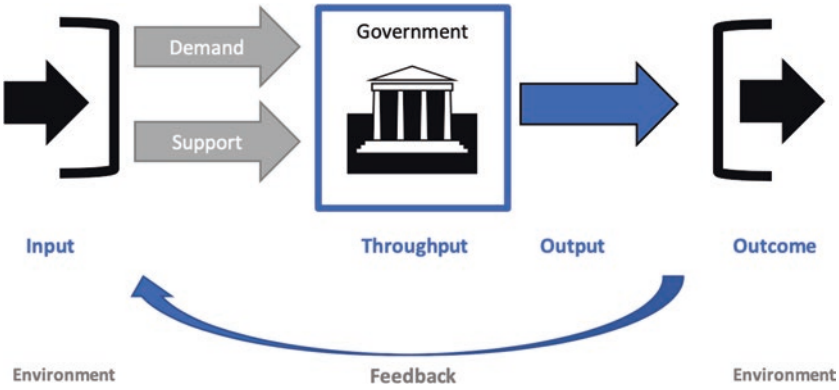

Fig. 5.1 System model of politics (governance)

point to input (demands, support), to throughput (how the political and administrative system deals with input in order to establish output), the policy output, as well as actual effects or results of the output (outcome). It is important to keep in mind this distinction across input-throughput-output-outcome in reflecting upon the integrity and the quality of governance, and the relationship between them (Fig. 5.1).

5.2 Integrity of Governance

5.2.1 Introduction: Integrity?

What is integrity? What characterizes the integrity of a person, functionary, organization? What characterizes, for example, politicians acting with integrity, what is an 'integrous' politician? The extant literature provides at least eight different views on integrity (Huberts, 2014), summarized in Table 5.1. Four views may be considered 'mainstream': integrity as 'wholeness, consistency, and coherence,' integrity as 'professional responsibility,' integrity as a '(number of) value(s),' and integrity as 'accordance with relevant legal or moral values and norms.'

The first, rather dominant, perspective is in line with the meaning of the Latin integras: 'intact, whole, harmonious,' and sees integrity as 'wholeness' or completeness, as consistency and coherence of principles and values (Montefiore, 1999, p. 9). The second view sees integrity as professional wholeness or responsibility (or quality) (Karssing, 2001, p. 3).

Table 5.1 Eight views on integrity

1. Integrity as wholeness
2. Integrity as being integrated into the environment
3. Integrity as professional responsibility
4. Integrity as conscious and open acting based on moral reflection
5. Integrity as a (number of) value(s) or virtue(s), including incorruptibility
6. Integrity as accordance with laws and codes
7. Integrity as accordance with relevant moral values and norms
8. Integrity as exemplary moral behavior

Other perspectives are more characterized by the relationship between integrity and morals; in other words, what is right and wrong. One focuses on a specific value or a collection of certain values (Dobel, 1999), for example, incorruptibility, honesty, impartiality, accountability, and so on. A view that fits into this category relates integrity to acting in line with virtues such as wisdom, justice, courage, and temperance (van Tongeren & Becker, 2009). Yet, other viewpoints see integrity more as an umbrella concept, one that combines sets of values that are relevant for the official being judged. Among these is the legal or constitutional view (Rohr, 1989, pp. 4–5) with its focus on 'constitutional or regime values.' A further perspective argues that the 'law' does not offer a clear guiding principle for many aspects of the actual decision-making and implementation processes in government and governance, and therefore, offers an interpretation in terms of 'complying with the relevant moral values and norms' (see e.g. Becker, 1998; Huberts, 2014; Thomas, 2001; Thompson, 1995; Uhr, 1999). This interpretation, of course, comes close to 'a general way of acting morally' and 'morality' (Brenkert, 2004, p. 5). The view that will be leading in this chapter sees the relationship with ethics and morals, with right and wrong, good and bad as crucial, with integrity as a characteristic or a quality that refers to being in accordance with the relevant moral values and norms.

Moral values, norms, laws, and rules lie at the heart of the analysis of integrity. A 'value' is a belief or quality that contributes to judgments about what is good, right, beautiful, or admirable and thus has weight in the choice of action by individuals and collectives (Huberts & Van der Wal, 2014; Van der Wal, 2008). The more specific 'norm' tells us whether something is good or bad, right or wrong, beautiful or ugly. Hence, for types of behavior, these parameters answer the question 'what is the right thing to do?' These values and norms, of course, also include a number of

values and norms that are central in the other perspectives (such as wholeness, responsibility, incorruptibility, lawfulness). Integrity, however, does not concern what is beautiful (aesthetics), what is conventional (etiquette), or what works (technology). Rather, it focuses on 'moral' norms and values; that is, those that refer to what is right or wrong, good or bad.

Defining integrity in terms of relevant moral values, norms, and rules requires precise understanding of what a moral value, norm, or rule is, of what is meant by ethics, morals, and morality. Despite agreement that both concern 'right and wrong' or 'good and evil,' different interpretations of the terms abound, especially in the realm of philosophy and the study of ethics. Kaptein and Wempe (2002, pp. 40–42) distinguished six features exhibited by moral pronouncements. They concern 'right and wrong' (a normative judgment that expresses approval or disapproval, evokes shame or pride), but they also appeal to the general consent, are not a matter of individual taste, apply to everyone in similar circumstances, involve the interests of others (interpersonal), and the interests at stake are 'fundamental' (2002, p. 42).

To summarize, integrity is about 'moral' norms and values, those that refer to what is right or wrong, good or bad. The features also presuppose a general consent from everyone in the same circumstances, giving the meaning to ´relevant´ moral values and norms.

5.2.2 Values, Ethics, Integrity, and Governance

How, then, does integrity relate to ethics, morality, values, and norms? In the view proposed, integrity is the concept that should be applied to the behavior of the participants in agenda building, decision-making, and decision implementation. That is, it does not concern everything in politics and business, or the content of government policy (or business strategy); rather, it concerns behavior, process, and procedure (in a broad sense).

This is not to deny that many important ethical controversies and debates concern policy content (output) and outcome. There are, and always will be, intense feelings about the rights or wrongs of certain policies (e.g. on war and peace, abortion, euthanasia, etc.), and these are frequently fueled by religious convictions. The focus on integrity, however, should not distract us from the fact that all policy areas involve choices about good and bad, about social equity, social justice, and other crucial values. Policy ethics is about the content of decisions, policies, and laws, and focuses specifically on the consequences or results of policy, which, of course, are crucial for both citizens and society.

It is, however, important to distinguish between policy content (and outcome) and policy process, and the 'integrity of governance' refers to the policy or governance process: how policy is made and implemented. This process includes the input phase of agenda building, the throughput phase of policy preparation and decision-making, and the output phase of decision-making and policy implementation (and evaluation). In all these phases, the actors are guided by moral values and norms, operating within an institutional framework that itself contains moral values and norms about how to operate.

Values have become more prominent in the theory and practice of public governance. However, the enormous number of relevant values makes public values research highly complex, and this can lead to despondency in the practitioners who must act on it. In addition, actors must deal not only with complexity but also with contradictions between values, with the problem of translating (competing) values into a decision or a behavior, which Hood (2010) described as 'an awkward endeavor.' One aspect of this endeavor is that different values matter in different contexts. For example, transparency might be crucial for the relationship between government and parliament but less important for that between civil servants and the public. The same applies to the relative importance of other values in governance. Actors must cope with many values that cannot all be optimized simultaneously. The chapters in this book clarify the meaning and relevance of different values, including legitimacy, accountability, lawfulness, and effectiveness, also referring to their relationship. Hence, governance is all about managing conflicts between competing and sometimes conflicting values, moral and otherwise. When we focus on governance, therefore, different values will be involved in our reflections on such different aspects as policy making and policy implementation or the involvement of different actors (e.g. politicians, civil servants, networks, citizens, interest groups, etc.).

5.2.3 Integrity Violations

To further clarify the content of 'integrity,' it is useful to reflect on behavior that violates the relevant moral values and norms, that is, on integrity violations. Table 5.2 presents an idea of the types of behavior that can be seen as integrity violations. The (validated) typology was developed, step by step, building on several bodies of knowledge on police corruption, integrity research, integrity of governance research, and, for example,

Table 5.2 Types of integrity violations

1. Corruption: bribing
2. Corruption: favoritism
3. Conflict of interest (gifts, jobs etc.)
4. Fraud and theft of resources
5. Waste and abuse of resources
6. Breaking rules /misusing power (also when carried out for the organization)
7. Misuse and manipulation of information
8. Indecent treatment (intimidation, discrimination)
9. Private time misconduct

organizational misconduct research (Huberts, 2014; Lasthuizen, Huberts, & Heres, 2011; Vardi & Weitz, 2004).

Why focus on a broad variety of integrity violations instead of focusing on corruption, for example (Huberts, 2007; Huberts, Lasthuizen, & Peeters, 2006)? The first and most obvious reason is that a focus on the moral dimension in the behavior of individuals, organizations, and even countries (as well as on the behavior that violates relevant moral values and norms), by definition begs for a broad framework. Although it is certainly worthwhile knowing more about corruption in government and administration (bribery and favoritism), it is also important to discover more about such violations as waste and abuse of (public) resources, discrimination, improper use of authority, and private time misconduct. It thus seems advantageous to distinguish clearly between subtypes of 'unethical' behavior (or integrity violations), with corruption defined as the abuse of office for private gain (Pope, 2000).

5.3 Quality of Governance

5.3.1 Introduction

In this section several approaches and bodies of knowledge are summarized that seem relevant for reflection upon the content of 'quality of governance.' First, the concept of quality is discussed, followed by a brief sketch of the meaning of the concept in public administration. This is an early indication that 'good process' as well as (later) 'good outcome according to citizens' are aspects of the topics addressed. 'Quality' refers to standards, criteria, and values, and the literature offers several bodies of knowledge that seem relevant for clarifying the basic notion of quality of

governance. Secondly, there is a focus on the public values (and public value) that are recognizable in all interpretations of the quality of governance. This is followed by the presentation and review of frameworks that deal with 'public value(s),' 'quality of government,' and 'good governance.' These are inputs to the next section which discusses the relationship between the quality and the integrity of governance and offers a potential framework for their study.

5.3.2 Quality

Quality is a rather complex concept, as already suggested in the first chapter of this book. In the context of 'quality of governance,' the concept refers to standards (of excellence) for governance and to criteria that distinguish between good and bad governance. In other words, quality refers to the values that are relevant when judging governance. Löffler (2002) addresses the topic of defining quality in public administration by sketching the changing interpretations and elements: respect of (formal) norms and procedures, effectiveness of services, and customer satisfaction. Bovaird and Löffler (2003) describe the move in the public sector during the 1990s from concern largely with excellence in service delivery to a concern for good governance, and they demonstrate that there is widespread interest in measuring not only the quality of services but also the improvement in quality of life and improvement in governance processes. They also discuss how measures of good governance are being used in different contexts around the world. These publications illustrate that the interpretation of quality of governance shifted from 'good process' to 'good outcome according to citizens,' with the additional note that process quality nevertheless seems important when trust in government is at stake.

5.3.3 Public Value

The focus on citizen's satisfaction with government services can also be recognized in a widely known 'theory' on public management that was developed by Mark H. Moore in his Creating Public Value: Strategic Management in Government (1995, p. 1), which sketched out 'what public managers should think and do to exploit the particular circumstances they find themselves in to create public value' (see also Benington & Moore, 2011). For Moore, public value is to public management what

shareholder value is to business, and managerial success in the public sector is related to (an increase in) the value of public-sector enterprises in the short and longer terms. Hence, at its most basic, public value refers to what the public values (in output and outcome of public policies and services—see Alford & O'Flynn, 2009).

De Jong (2012) summarized Moore's approach, stating that Moore's notions of an authorizing environment, operational capacity, and public value proposition help map the landscape for public managers who seek to make positive change. 'There is political work to do (obtaining legitimacy and support), there is a managerial task to fulfill (creating capacity), and there is an entrepreneurial, imaginative dimension to the job (envisioning public value)' (De Jong, 2012, p. 56).

As this outline summary of Moore's method clearly illustrates, its main focus is on how public managers can get an idea of public value in policy making and implementation while taking into account the logics of politics, policy content, and administrative implementation. Moore's framework thus focuses on the output and outcome of governance, in particular, on 'what the public values' (which is reminiscent of the focus on 'customer or citizen satisfaction' in 'total quality management'). Moore did not pinpoint the content of the values of citizens concerning the governance output and process, and this will be addressed later.

5.3.4 Public Values

An important body of knowledge concerning the quality of governance has developed and is continuing to evolve through research on public values. Many definitions and interpretations of the meaning of 'value' exist. Some speak about 'values literature confusion' (Agle & Caldwell, 1999, p. 327). Values can, at the most basic level, be perceived as 'anything good or bad' (Pepper, 1959, p. 7) or 'convictions,' 'standards,' or 'principles' that influence individual and group choices among alternative courses of action (e.g. Rokeach, 1973). In daily organizational life, values address not only what ought to be but also what is; not only what is good or desirable, but also what is simply the right thing to do in a decision-making situation (in order to ultimately achieve what is good and desirable from an organizational perspective). In accordance with Van der Wal (2008, p. 10), a 'value,' is defined here as a belief or quality that contributes to judgments about what is good, right, beautiful, or admirable and, as previously stressed, has weight in the choice of action by individuals and

collectives. The more specific 'norm,' in contrast, tells us whether something is good or bad, right or wrong, or beautiful or ugly in a given situation. Norms answer the question 'what is the proper thing to do' in a certain situation.

Although the crucial values for public functionaries and institutions, in various shapes and forms, have been much at the forefront of many recent debates in public administration, the character of the debates on 'public values' varies. Several scholars have addressed public values in general and proposed sets of public values (Kernaghan, 2003; Van Wart, 1998) or have derived specific sets of public values through empirical research (Beck Jørgensen & Bozeman, 2007; Schmidt & Posner, 1986; Van Der Wal, Pevkur, & Vrangbaek, 2008). As a result, the examples of public values mentioned in the literature differ greatly (cf. De Bruijn & Dicke, 2006; De Vries & Kim, 2011).

The literature thus deals with manifold values, a diversity well illustrated by literature reviews on values for the public sector (Beck Jørgensen & Bozeman, 2007; Van der Wal, Huberts, Van Den Heuvel, & Kolthoff, 2006). Beck Jørgensen and Bozeman (2007, pp. 360–361) distinguished seven categories, including 'behavior of public-sector employees,' 'public sector's contribution to society,' and 'intra-organizational aspects of public administration.' These 'seven constellations of public values' thus refer to different sets of values for different aspects and phases of the governance process. For each category or aspect of governance, a number of central or nodal values are mentioned. For 'Behavior of public-sector employees,' these are accountability, professionalism, honesty, moral standards, ethical consciousness, and integrity (Beck Jørgensen & Bozeman, 2007, pp. 360–361).

In a comparison of fourteen codes of conduct in different parts of the world, Beck Jørgensen and Soerensen (2012) identified a very interesting set of apparently global public values (which also happen to reflect ideals from constitutionalism and rational bureaucracy): public interest, regime dignity, political loyalty, transparency, neutrality, impartiality, effectiveness, accountability, and legality. These values, they pointed out, match the international code of the UN and the model code of the European Council, as well as conceptions of good governance promoted by the OECD, IMF, World Bank (WB), UN, and EU. Consequently, the authors suggested, they constitute a set of global public values.

5.3.5 Pluralism and Universalism of Public Values

An important problem is how the values relate to one another. Are the values global and valid everywhere, as suggested in Beck Jørgensen and Soerensen's (2012) overview (universalism); are they in conflict, thereby making management of tension and conflict essential (pluralism); or is their worth fully dependent on the context (relativism)? A value list, as such, offers no answers to these fundamental questions.

What characterizes the approach in this chapter? I tend to be most sympathetic toward value pluralism (see also Chap. 1), with an additional flavor of universalism. What clarifies this leaning? First, skepticism about value relativism. To put it simply, values, as well as their prioritization in relation to each other, are of course constructed in context, so the meaning of incorruptibility and efficiency and their importance among other values will differ between, for example, governance in an Indian village and governance in the wealthy metropolitan areas of the world. To use, or even prescribe, the same criteria and policies in both contexts would thus be unrealistic and counterproductive. Yet, I nevertheless doubt whether a poor Indian villager and a New York yuppie differ that much in their views on a governance system in which the private profit of their 'governor' dominates over public interest. Hence, there do seem to be universalistic values on governance. The poor farmer and the yuppie prefer incorruptibility above corruptibility, even though they are part of systems and contexts that will—understandably—produce very different types of behavior.

The discussion on the universality of governance values and quality also has its parallels in discussions on universal human rights and development. For example, Nussbaum (2011) argues that a number of aspects of human development are universal (e.g. health), and Rothstein (2011) supports that argument in his discussion on quality of governance with a focus on policy outcomes. Although I agree, I tend to more explicitly add governance values to their impressive work. That is, there still exists an undefined universal idea of what 'good governance' is, even though the alleged 'capture' of the good governance concept by the World Bank and others is, with good reason, questioned by many. Not that I mean to oppose, the pluralistic view that discussion and decision-making about policy making and implementation will always require the management of tensions between values, resulting in different outcomes in different contexts. In that sense, value pluralism reflects the reality of actual governance processes.

5.3.6 Managing Conflicting Values

The variety of moral (and other) values makes public values research highly complex, but it may also lead to despondency in the practitioners who must act on it. In addition, actors must deal not only with complexity but also with contradictions between values, with the problem of translating (competing) values into a decision or a behavior, which Hood (2010) described as 'an awkward endeavor.' Actors must cope with many values that cannot all be optimized. Hence, governance is all about managing conflicts between competing and sometimes conflicting values, moral and otherwise (De Graaf and Van der Wal, 2010).

An important aspect of 'managing values,' then, is whether all values deserve the same priority in the process. Rothstein and Teorell (2008), for example, argued for 'impartiality' as the central value, but other scholars have focused in their research on accountability (Bovens, 1998; Dubnick & Yang, 2011; see also O'Kelly & Dubnick, this book), transparency (Piotrowski, 2007; Schnell, this book), lawfulness (Rosenbloom, 2011; Simonati, this book), or integrity. For now, I think it is premature to argue against the importance of a set of quality of governance criteria, not least because the concept of value by definition refers to something valued, and hence inherently a 'quality.' In the end, the proof of the pudding will have to be in the eating, meaning that we need research to establish the relative importance of these criteria. One criterion that might be applied relates conflict of values to 'who is governed.' That is, if public governance is policy making on public problems and interests as well as the implementation of these policies, why not let the involved public 'decide' what quality is, even when values are in competition or contradiction?

Hence, when we want to evaluate governance in terms of quality, the relevant publics are at least an important 'referee' (in line with Mark Moore's approach: public value is what the public values, but then not only on outcome but also on process…). This assumption, however, begs the question that the members of the 'public' are able to referee, which in turn presupposes their ability to come to an informed judgment. As a consequence, when a country's population considers robustness and decisiveness as more important than impartiality and incorruptibility, or democracy and accountability, in distinguishing bad from good governance, that 'actor' as referee is important for reaching conclusions about the quality of governance in that country. What is good or bad governance in terms of the relative importance of the governance values thus differs in

various contexts. Managing values in context and in accordance with what the public considers good governance is, in the end, the proof of the pudding for actual governance.

Another important and related discussion among public value scholars is on the incommensurability of values. There seems to be agreement on 'conflicting values,' not all values can be optimized in policy and governance. But are values also 'incommensurable,' and it is therefore impossible to come up with a satisfying or compromise strategy in decision-making (De Graaf & Van der Wal, 2017; Overeem & Verhoef, 2014)? Or are procedural values, by definition, in conflict with performance or outcome values (De Graaf & Paanakker, 2015). Incommensurability of values also leads to the question of how governance actors can then cope. Thacher and Rein (2004) explicitly address this issue and summarize their argument thus: 'Policy actors do sometimes try to strike a "balance" among conflicting values, but they often avail themselves of other strategies as well: they cycle between values by emphasizing one value and then the other; they assign responsibilities for each value to different institutional structures; or they gather and consult a taxonomy of specific cases where similar conflicts arise' (2004, p. 457).

5.3.7 Quality of Government: Specific Values

Another framework is that proposed by the Quality of Government (QoG) Institute in Goteborg Sweden, and summarized by Bo Rothstein, in Quality of Government (2011). This framework positions impartiality as the central characteristic of quality and relates it to the quality of the governed society (wealth, welfare and social security, health, education). Hence, as Rothstein convincingly argued, impartial government leads to better policies and more developed societies.

Rothstein's analysis, however, raises crucial questions. Most especially, in my view, it fails to consider the possible importance (in terms of quality of life) of separating the quality of the governance process from the quality of the policy outcomes. What this omission should lead to is reflection on research and policy agendas and how they connect the quality of the governance process and the quality of policies, in terms of the results for the quality of society (see also Masters' chapter in this book on bureaucratic animosity, relating integrity also to outcome).

A second point for reflection concerns the dependent variable, the quality of output and outcome, or the quality of society. I tend to agree

with Rothstein (2011) that the work of Nussbaum (2011) and Sen (Nussbaum & Sen, 1993) on human development offers an intriguing starting point for considering this issue because social outcome involves not only wealth, income, and economy but also such factors as health, education, and gender. Yet the question of how the quality of society relates to the way society is governed is a topic that has not attracted the interest it deserves.

A third point, and one of utmost importance, is the question of which characteristics of the governance process actually influence the outcomes. That is, there is little doubt that impartiality is a crucial characteristic, as Rothstein has argued (Rothstein, 2011; Rothstein & Teorell, 2008), but it is more doubtful (Longo, 2008) that it is the only aspect of the governance process that matters. Indeed, as suggested before, several values and criteria are relevant for the 'quality of the governance process' and also that this quality is decisive for appreciation of governance by society. Quality of governance, therefore, although it does include incorruptibility and impartiality, also has democracy, accountability and transparency, lawfulness, effectiveness and efficiency, professionalism and civility, and robustness as central values. Thus, there is a great need for valid research on the relationship of those values, or on the quality of the governance process in relation to policy quality and human development.

5.3.8 Good Governance

Both governance theory and practice offer many interpretations of 'good governance,' most of which select a number of seemingly more prominent values to distinguish between good and bad, or better and worse, governance.

La Porta et al. (1999) empirically address the determinants of the quality of government in a large cross-section of countries. Quality or 'good governance' was interpreted as 'good-for-economic-development,' using measures of government intervention, public-sector efficiency, public good provision, size of government, and political freedom. This focus led to a number of conclusions about the conditions that influence quality: 'We find that countries that are poor, close to the equator, ethnolinguistically heterogeneous, use French or socialist laws, or have high proportions of Catholics or Muslims exhibit inferior government performance. We also find that the larger governments tend to be the better performing ones' (1999, p. 222).

Fig. 5.2 Famous World Bank good governance values

That specific focus on 'economic' development is all but common in the good governance literature. The most influential framework is that of the WB, which sees good governance as participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive, and in accordance with the rule of law (Fig. 5.2).

The WB also adds that it is important that corruption be minimized, that the views of minorities be taken into account, and that the voices of the most vulnerable in society be heard in decision-making. Good governance is also responsive to the present and future needs of society. This also raises the question of how the WB framework relates to the previous information on governance. Two observations are important. First, the WB focuses on both the governance process and the outcome of the resulting policies. The values 'equitable' and 'needs of society,' specifically, refer to outcome. As previously argued, however, even though outcome is of course very important, it is not self-evident that good governance in terms of process is dependent on 'good' outcomes. Second, and more important, by apparently presupposing that all the criteria must be optimized, the WB is failing to recognize neither the tension between values, nor the importance of context for the choices that must be made in actual governance. This failure has led to widespread criticism of the WB policy as limited and 'Western,' as imposing a framework that does not suit the conditions in many (developing) countries.

Good governance thus concerns dealing with these often-conflicting values on process and outcomes with a broader perspective than the

'integrity' of the process. That leads to intriguing discussions on national and international policies and on how to stimulate good governance in countries, but it also opens up a challenging agenda for research. Rothstein (2011) argues that impartiality of government is the crucial factor for societal progress. In contrast, Grindle (2004) presents the concept of 'good enough governance,' acknowledging that many countries are not capable of fulfilling all good governance demands with impartiality and integrity.

Other good governance frameworks exist, including one which refers to four families of values (Bovens et al., 2007). In this paradigm, good governance concerns (political) democracy and responsiveness, lawfulness, effectiveness and efficiency (policy performance), and integrity (incorruptibility and accordance with professional ethics). A challenging aspect of this paradigm is that integrity is part of the framework.

5.4 Quality and Integrity of Governance

5.4.1 Introduction

The previous sketch of the different elements and interpretations of the integrity and the quality of governance offers food for thought on 'integrity' and its relationship with 'quality'. How does the suggested integrity perspective fit into the broader approaches on the quality of governance? And what is the significance of integrity in the views on quality of governance as summarized before? This automatically results in reflection about both fields of study: how do integrity and quality relate, is there a framework that links both concepts and perspectives? The last section will be about the agenda for research.

5.4.2 Integrity (and Quality)

Integrity refers to relevant moral values and norms, to what is right or wrong, good or bad, shared by the community and thus very important to all participants in governance. It therefore concerns their behavior in making, deciding, and implementing policies. Integrity violations point at behavior that is in conflict with those moral norms and values, and there are many types of violations, contravening different values and norms.

At first sight, this may seem a plausible and workable distinction but what does it tell us about the 'morality' of the manifold values that were

mentioned in the quality perspectives, such as democracy (including participation), accountability and transparency, lawfulness, incorruptibility and impartiality, effectiveness and efficiency (also addressed in different chapters in this book), professionalism, and robustness?

One line of reasoning is that all values can be moral values when they are seen as important for right and wrong in the governance process and in the behavior of the governing actors under scrutiny. It then depends on the process whether, for example, transparency is seen as relevant for good or bad behavior in governance. If it is, one might argue that being transparent is among the values to take into account when governance is evaluated in terms of integrity.

Opposing that is a line of reasoning arguing that lack of transparency as such is not always wrong or bad, because of the tension between transparency and the other values that matter in governance: protecting the privacy of actors, for example, or the necessity of secrecy in order to be effective. That does not deny that lack of transparency can be morally wrong when that behavior results from inappropriate goals or interests, and that it thus conflicts with other (moral) values such as impartiality and incorruptibility. In cases such as this, the context and the relationship with other values must be examined in order to conclude that 'secrecy' does in fact conflict with the standards for integrous behavior.

In research as well as in public debate, we seem to have different conceptions of integrity: integrity as a specific value amidst others with relevance for the quality of the governance process (behavior) and integrity as the overall moral quality of the governance process.

There is an even broader third interpretation: integrity as the overall moral quality of the governance process and the ethical quality of policy and resulting societal outcomes.

This raises many questions, also more general ones on the quality of governance framework. But first, it seems relevant to discuss another aspect of the integrity perspective: the relationship between bodies of knowledge on integrity violations and views on relevant values in quality of governance research.

5.4.3 Integrity Violations and Relevant Values

Although seldom addressed, a question worth asking is which moral values and norms are at stake in those integrity violations that can be distinguished and observed (see, from: Huberts, 2014, pp. 211–214). There

seem to be two separate bodies of knowledge: one on 'ethics and values' and one on 'violations,' without the connections that one might expect actually being made. When the 'bright side' of ethics is discussed, with overviews of the many relevant (moral) values and norms, limited attention is paid to the types of behavior that violate those values. And in the research on integrity violations and unethical behavior, the 'dark side,' it is seen as self-evident that moral values and norms are violated, but with very limited attention paid to which norms and values are at stake in the different violations (corruption, fraud, conflict of interest, abuse of information and power, discrimination and intimidation, etc.; see Table 5.2).

However, Table 5.3 offers a first idea on this neglected connection. It is included because it provides food for thought on the particular overview of values that is prominent in the public value and ethics literature (and in this book). What is offered is not meant to be complete; it serves merely to illustrate the topic. In most instances, it is not difficult to establish the relationship between violations and the moral values violated; for example, between corruption and the values of incorruptibility and impartiality, with a reference to accountability and lawfulness. In other cases, it seems

Table 5.3 Number of integrity violations and impression of the values violated

Integrity violation	*Violated value*
1. *Corruption: bribery*	Incorruptibility and impartiality; accountability and transparency; lawfulness
2. *Corruption: favoritism (nepotism, cronyism, patronage)*	Incorruptibility and impartiality; accountability and transparency
3. *Fraud and theft of resources*	Accountability and transparency; lawfulness; effectiveness/efficiency
4. *Conflict of (private and public) interests*	Incorruptibility and impartiality; accountability and transparency; professionalism
5. *Improper use of authority*	Lawfulness; accountability and transparency; robustness
6. *Misuse and manipulation of information*	Accountability and transparency; lawfulness; professionalism; robustness
7. *Indecent treatment (including discrimination, intimidation, and sexual harassment)*	Professionalism
8. *Waste and abuse of organizational resources*	Effectiveness/efficiency; professionalism; robustness
9. *Misconduct in private time*	Incorruptibility and impartiality; accountability and transparency; lawfulness; professionalism

less obvious and less convincing, particularly in the case of private time misconduct and indecent treatment, although for different reasons.

That also raises the question of whether values are missing in the framework (Huberts, 2014). One type of integrity violation that is difficult to relate to the violation of those values previously highlighted is 'indecent treatment,' including discrimination, intimidation, and sexual harassment. Obviously, such behavior violates the value of 'professionalism'; however, discrimination and sexual harassment also contradict basic values for interpersonal relations, meaning that such treatment goes beyond 'unprofessional behavior' and brings to mind such issues as decency, civility, humanity, and respect. Simply confronting this type of violation with the panorama of values that features in our discourse seems to indicate that we are missing something in our research on the moral values of politicians and civil servants. This may result from the fact that such research tends to focus on 'functional' values related to decision-making and decision implementation, to processes. As a result, it pays little attention, if any, to the (inter)personal and private aspects of political and administrative behavior. This may demonstrate an incomplete overview of basic moral values: in particular, 'civility' or 'decency' seems to be missing.

5.4.4 Resulting Value Panorama

Public values are related to policy content (outcome), political democracy (input), the governance process in general, and the different phases of that process (input, throughput, output). Combining the values discussed in the literature for aspects and phases of governance, including integrity violations, and combining that with the previous analysis of values and violations, the following central values of governance can be hypothesized (Huberts, 2014, p. 213; see also Chap. 1 of this book):

1. 'democracy with responsiveness and participation'—paying attention to social preferences and with the involvement of actors having an interest (including citizens);
2. 'accountability and transparency'—being open, honest, and willing to account for behavior;
3. 'lawfulness'—respecting laws and rules;
4. 'incorruptibility and impartiality'—acting in the public interest instead of self-interest or other inappropriate partial interests;

5. 'effectiveness and efficiency of process'—acting capably in agenda building and preparing, taking, and implementing decisions;
6. 'professionalism and civility'—acting in line with professional standards and standards for (inter)personal behavior. For civil servants, this means skillfulness (expertise), civility and respect, neutrality and loyalty (including confidentiality), and serviceability. For politicians, it entails reliability, civility, and trustworthiness.
7. 'robustness'—being stable and reliable but also able to adapt and innovate.

This overview shows a broader value panorama than the dominant literature takes into account, but also raises the relevant question of how this relates to 'integrity'? Integrity does not appear in this overview. How should this be interpreted: is it in line with the information presented that stems from the body of knowledge on the quality of governance?

5.4.5 Quality (and Integrity)

The concept 'quality of governance' refers to standards (of excellence) for governance, to criteria that distinguish between good and bad governance, or in other words to the relevant values for judging governance. Quality of governance is about good governance (in accordance with relevant values) and bad governance (violating relevant values). This interpretation first of all connects the concept of quality with that of (public) value, defined as a belief or quality that contributes to judgments about what is good, right, beautiful, or admirable and has weight in the choice of action by individuals and collectives.

Manifold values are distinguished in the literature, as mentioned before, and most authors compose a list of (public) or governance values, without specific reference to the different aspects and phases of governance. The framework of governance presented, however, distinguishes between input, throughput, output, and outcome. All these phases of governance seem crucial for reflection on the quality of governance, but this does not deny the importance of distinctions between them, and this differs from the position that 'in the end' only results matter.

The main argument against the focus on outcome is that, in the eyes of citizens, the quality (and integrity) of the governance process matters as such, independently of the results in terms of social outcome. Citizens not only 'value' outcome, citizens also 'value' governance process. This is

illustrated by research of the trust in governance by citizens and other stakeholders, even though trust research is not easy to interpret because citizens answer questions on trust almost identically to questions on the quality or integrity or incorruptibility of systems of governance (Bouckaert & Van de Walle, 2003; Van de Walle, 2008). Nevertheless, as research on procedural justice has shown, those governed seem to appreciate the quality of how they are governed more than the results of the policies issued. This observation raises the interesting research questions of whether this finding of procedural priority remains valid for governance and which (procedural) values contribute (most) to trust in governance. Are impartiality and incorruptibility (Rothstein, 2011) the central values or are accountability, civility, and robustness, for example, also important?

By no means is this interpretation of aspects of quality of governance meant to neglect the importance of the quality of output and outcome. Such values as, for example, the common good, social cohesion, social justice, equity, equality, wealth, health, and sustainability are relevant to addressing questions about the quality of society (as in the discussion on Human Development, Nussbaum, 2011). These outcome values are very relevant for 'quality of governance' in general, as is the prominent value of 'effectiveness': Are the effects of policies in accordance with its ambition and goals? Nevertheless, it also seems very relevant that 'differentiation matters' and that it will contribute to a better description, explanation, and evaluation of governance. This 'differentiation' should also include more attention to the values that matter for different levels within organizations, as Paanakker's chapter on public craftsmanship shows.

When we focus on the process, on input and throughput, a next question is how integrity fits into quality. The overview of theory and research on the quality of the governance process showed many different interpretations. Often 'integrity' is not mentioned among the relevant values, which does not exclude referring to such values as impartiality and incorruptibility. Some researchers explicitly reflect on the meaning of integrity within their framework. Beck Jørgensen and Bozeman (2007) offer an interesting example. Among the values for public-sector employees, they mention accountability and professionalism (work in a serious, reflective, and competent manner), and, in addition, values such as honesty, moral standards, and ethical consciousness. They add that honesty is related to a number of other values such as objectivity, impartiality, openness, integrity, and accountability, and:

> It seems, however, that the central value in this group is integrity. A person with integrity is a person who remains unmoved by personal motives, interests, bribery, popular opinion, changing fashions, smears, and so forth but has sufficient backbone to stick to a certain point of view or principle. A person with integrity has a solid core. Integrity is also one of the values that relate to a large number of other values because it takes so many words to define the meaning of integrity: honesty, dignity, fairness, ethical consciousness, moral standards, professionalism, openness, impartiality, and regime loyalty. The latter may sound surprising but is included because a person with integrity has to remain loyal to the system within which he or she works—or resign. (Beck Jørgensen & Bozeman, 2007, p. 368)

This view illustrates the struggle of many researchers with the concept of integrity within a broader quality framework that has many interrelated values. Integrity seems crucial, the central value for public-sector employees, but connected to other values and many different aspects of governance.

5.4.6 How to Combine Integrity and Quality?

Concepts are almost always contested: there are different interpretations and definitions, and this makes it important to be clear about one's interpretation. For now, different options are on the table. The quality of governance framework raises the question of how the 'integrity' of governance relates to the 'quality' of governance.

1. *Is Integrity More or Less Synonymous with Quality, in the Sense that It Refers to Being in Accordance with all the Values that Matter?*

This chapter offered two arguments against that position. First, quality of governance concerns all aspects and phases of governance, including the content of policy and policy outcomes (and whether they are in accordance with values). Integrity, though, concerns the behavior of governance actors in that policy or governance process. Second, integrity refers to the moral quality of that process and focuses on the behavior of actors. When governance actors operate not (very) efficiently or responsively or robustly, the quality of governance is at stake, not, by definition, their integrity. Integrous behavior and integrity violations concern such values as incorruptibility and impartiality (inappropriate personal or family/party interests versus public interest) and civility in personal behavior.

2. *Is Integrity Synonymous with the Moral or Ethical Quality of Governance (Actors)?*

Again, it is important to distinguish between aspects and phases in governance. The ethical quality of governance output and societal outcome is a crucial aspect to consider for the quality of governance (good governance), but integrity refers to the governance process (in accordance with the relevant moral values and norms). But for that process and behavior, the question of how moral values and other 'quality' values relate is relevant. In other words, are there qualities other than moral quality? There is, for example, 'democratic quality,' which refers to the involvement of interested publics and whether policies are responsive to their preferences, and 'technical quality' related to the methods and practicalities of the process (decisiveness, robustness). These qualities and values may be seen as essential for 'good and bad' by the relevant public(s). A rather inefficient or unresponsive mayor will be criticized by citizens, but how and when does this relate to the mayor's integrity, and result in doubts about their integrity?

3. *How Does Integrity Relate to the Relevant Values for the (Moral) Quality of Governance (Actors)?*

The moral quality of governance (actors) refers to 'good and bad,' 'right and wrong' in the eyes of relevant publics. An inefficient politician or disrespectful public servant thus violates values and norms that relate also to the moral quality of governance. Does this entitle the public to doubt the integrity of the public servant? Two different views seem relevant. The first can be summarized as 'all bad behavior raises questions about integrity'; the second presupposes extra aspects to 'integrity,' relating it to the reasons and background of that behavior. Public servants can do stupid things, but when is their integrity questionable?

4. *When Do Governance Actors Lack Integrity Amidst Many Relevant Values?*

Governance actors operate within a complex context with many criteria and expectations for how they operate. Many values are important: they are to be effective, responsive, transparent, integrous, etc. Integrity seems to be a crucial value, with many interpretations of how to behave, decide,

and implement with integrity when many values conflict. More clarity concerning 'integrity' seems crucial for governance practice as well for our research (and for this book on Quality where there are many relevant values presented). As food for thought, for what is work in progress, a number of remarks seem relevant.

The integrity of governance is an important value within the framework of quality of governance. Whereas quality of governance refers to the many relevant values for all aspects and phases of governance, integrity focuses on the moral quality of the behavior of actors. The exact meaning of integrity in relation to quality needs clarification, given the many views and interpretations presented. For now, though, it seems promising to build on the view that integrous behavior and integrity violations concern such values as incorruptibility and impartiality (inappropriate personal, family/party interests versus public interest) and civility in personal behavior.

Whether that interpretation is adequate is to something for discussion and reflection, but it might lead to greater clarity within the broader quality of governance framework. Of course, when a politician or public servant acts inefficiently or undemocratically, the quality of their governance is at stake, but someone's integrity is at stake when inappropriate interests and/or behavior come into play.

5.4.7 Agenda for Research

The general mission or goal in the study of governance is to describe, explain, understand, and improve governance. The last, more normative part of that ambition, to evaluate and improve, is the most disputed. An evaluation by definition brings in criteria or norms or values for evaluation (and improvement). This may seem self-evident for researchers interested in normative questions, but many others consider this reflection as non-scientific.

These scholars will probably doubt even more whether quality is a relevant concept for scientific description and explanation. In my eyes, this is not very surprising and not only because of the basic differences within the scientific community as to what 'science' is all about. Another reason is that 'quality' frameworks have to be specified and translated in order to make them relevant in empirical research into the causes and effects of agenda building, policy making, and policy implementation. When 'quality' is about values, an important question becomes whether the values of

actors and institutions are useful or even necessary to describe and explain governance. In order to find out, we need to compare the significance of those factors for governance processes and outcomes with the significance of other factors, such as the self-interest of actors, power and power relations, and organizational rules and procedures.

Answering these important questions will require an empirical turn in our research on values and quality. That empirical turn to the actual significance of integrity and quality in governance should also concern research on the effectiveness of the many instruments and systems that exist to promote integrity and quality and to prevent violations. What really works is not very clear yet…

An 'empirical turn' in ethics and integrity research will possibly (and hopefully) contribute to an 'ethics and integrity turn' in contemporary research on governance. Individual and organization (moral) values and norms deserve more attention in our field of study and deserve to be part of all the research that tries to explain and understand governance processes.

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